1: Braham S-4 (no date) 1954 ED1 Rumania ED1

the right and freedom of citizens to write, publish, or otherwise express their views, except such as are in accord with the given party-line. For the exercise of this right, the state places at the disposal of the "working classes and their organizations, printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets (and) communication facilities." Freedom of speech is furthermore restricted by the provisions of the Law for the Defense of Peace, enacted on December 15, 1950. Article 2 of this Law specifically prohibits "propaganda inciting to war, the spreading of tendentious or invented news, of a nature to serve the warmongers, etc. . . ."

Freedom of the press and publication is likewise nonexistent. Two directorates attached to the Council of Ministers are charged with complete supervision over the press, publications of any sort, and their distribution. The Directorate of the Press and Printed Matter, established on May 23, 1949 (Decree No. 218) "authorizes the publication of all printed matter;" the General Directorate of Publishing, Graphic Arts Industry, Book and Press Distribution, established on March 16, 1950 (decree No. 62), "controls the output of publishing houses from the point of view of contents and form." The Communist press is furthermore restricted to the services of the AGERPRESS (the Rumanian Press Agency) which by virtue of Decree No. 217 of May 23, 1949, is the only agency permitted to receive and transmit news. Aside from the nationalization of all printing presses, a governmental decision (Decision No. 69 of the Ministry of the Interior, July 1, 1950) requires the registration with the militia of all hand printing presses, duplicating machines, and "materials needed for the reproduction of printed matter," owned by individuals or associations.

Freedom of assembly is similarly controlled. Excepting the Communist-controlled mass organizations, viz., public organizations, co-operative societies, youth and women's organizations, etc. (Article 86), no independent organization or association is permitted. Anyone attempting to organize or participate in such an organization is liable to prosecution by virtue of Article 86 of the Constitution, prohibiting the organization of or the participation in associations of a "fascist" or "anti-democratic" character. Such participation would furthermore entail "plotting against the internal and external security" of the state, an offense punishable by death under Article 1 of the Law for Punishing Certain Crimes Which Endanger the Security of the State of January 19, 1949.

The right to work is guaranteed by the "socialist transformation" of the economy and the "elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment" (Article 77). The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the reduction of the working hours to eight in factories and offices and to less in the more arduous trades.[8] This right is supplemented by

[8] The constitutional provisions relating to the reduction of working hours are puzzling in the light of the introduction of the piece-work system and norms of production (Labor Code of May 20, 1950) and the adoption of the Soviet model of "Stachanovism" and "voluntary labor."

3: Roberts S-4 (no date)1951 ED1 Rumania ED1

slight. In 1929, 1930, and 1931 there was an increasing disparity between budget revenue forecasts and actual receipts.

Certain late measures of the National Peasants will be considered presently in connection with the depression. But from the above it should be evident that during their brief term in office they passed a great deal of legislation, generally consistent in aim, and definitely reversing the main lines of the Liberals' policy. The most important measures, however, were not in the field of agriculture.

A word might be said on the relation of the National Peasants to foreign agrarian movements. Throughout eastern Europe a strong agrarian current appeared after the First World War. More or less extensive land reforms took place in the belt of states between Soviet Russia and central Europe, and peasant parties of varying political shades made their appearance. In 1921, on the initiative of the Bulgarian Peasant Prime Minister, Alexander Stambuliski, and with the support of the Czech agrarian leaders, Antonin Švehla and Milan Hodža, was formed the International Bureau of Agriculture, known as the Green International. Initially the bureau, which established its headquarters in Prague, was an organization for cooperation among the agrarian parties of the Slavic states of eastern Europe. In 1923, Virgil Madgearu, in discussing the international policy of the Rumanian Peasant party, showed a lukewarm attitude toward the Green International. In his opinion, its purposes were not clearly defined and it displayed a tendency toward Pan-Slavism which would scarcely recommend it to the Rumanians. Above all, he felt that international peasant action had only limited value. "The nation is a decisive factor in determining social progress, since no political party can form itself on an international base. Internationals can be annexes to the development of political action; they cannot become supranational." [63]

The Green International broadened somewhat in the following years. In 1925 Hodža defined the scope of the movement: "We know that agrarian democracy . . . is the strong bond which will create of the peoples an international unity, a formal, organic and psychological unity against which all attacks, whether directed by the imperialist right or the bolshevist left will be shattered." [64] The bureau's secretary Karl Mečir pointed out that the peasantry by their very nature and strong local attachments were not to be organized into a rigid international. The purpose of the movement in his eyes was to

63. *Doctrinele partidelor politice*, p. 86.

64. Milan Hodža, "La Politique étrangère et l'organisation internationale des agriculteurs," *M.A.B.: Bulletin du Bureau International Agraire*, 8–9 (1925), 22.

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665 serve as a clearing house to establish common ties and to exchange
●575 information.[65] In its general lines it represented an attempt to defend the eastern European peasantry against the more highly organized forces of industrialism and the dynamic inroads of Soviet communism.

In 1926 and 1927 the Rumanian and Finnish Peasant parties joined the Green International. There were no real meetings until 1928, when the bureau was formally constituted. After that annual congresses were held until the movement was engulfed by the depression and the political storms of the 1930's. Eventually it came to include peasant parties from Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Austria, Switzerland, Poland, France, the three Baltic states, and Finland. Although Mihalache had spoken of the rising peasant tide in eastern Europe, and Madgearu and Lupu contributed articles to the later issues of the bulletin of the Green International, it appears to have had no effect upon the course of internal Rumanian politics, and the Rumanians were among the less active members of the bureau.

A far more active, though in its aim unsuccessful, international effort was the agrarian bloc of eastern European states, in which Madgearu played a prominent part. This bloc had its origins in the growing agricultural crisis of 1930. The failure to obtain any favorable action at the first preliminary international conference for concerted economic action (held in Geneva, February 17 to March 24, 1930) led some of the agrarian states of eastern Europe, with the Little Entente at the core, to act together in defense of their interests. A series of conferences at Štrbske Pleso, Bucarest, and Warsaw during the summer of 1930 were attended by representatives from Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. The attempt was made to coordinte the economic policy of the members of the bloc and to obtain better commercial conditions from the industrial states. The failure of the bloc to achieve its aims belongs, however, in the more general framework of the depression.[66]

665 The economic, agrarian, and administrative policy of the National
656 Peasants in 1929 and 1930 has definite homogeneity. A prevailing emphasis upon decentralization and autonomy appears in the administrative reform, in the laws for mines and state enterprises, in the reorganization of the cooperatives. An attempt to relax restric-

65. Karl Mečir, "Le Bureau International Agraire," *M.A.B.: Bulletin du Bureau International Agraire*, 4 (1926), 26–29.

66. See below, pp. 184–185.

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with which the Iron Guard and the other fascist formations were treated.

By the 1930's the Iron Guard had become the manifestation of a quite powerful current in Rumanian life, a current arising out of the strains and dislocations in the society and intensified by the depression. The government, instead of opposing the current, tried to become master of it, and during these years it took on many of the attitudes and paraphernalia of the extreme Right. Early in its term in office the cabinet pressed for powers to issue decree-laws during parliamentary recess, ostensibly to improve efficiency. In the same year, 1934, the government announced that supervision of telephone calls—wire tapping—was to be extended from international to local and interurban calls. Compulsory labor brigades were introduced in 1936. Carol, for his part, was more and more the flamboyant father of his people. To counter the Iron Guard youth formations he created in 1934 his own youth movement, *Straja Ţării*. Carol's own activities may in part be ascribed to his willful and arbitrary character, his belief that the king should be more than a passive symbol, and his dislike and distrust of the Rumanian party system,[6] but the atmosphere of the time unquestionably nurtured these inclinations.

In 1936 the temporary calm showed signs of breaking and a new element, foreign relations, began to play its decisive role in determining Rumanian politics. It was only a relative change; Rumania has always been exceedingly sensitive to the reverberations of international events, and the rise of the extremist fascist parties in the 1930's was certainly associated with other similar movements elsewhere in Europe. Nevertheless, it may be said that up to 1936 the most important factors in the Rumanian political scene had been internal: the failure of the democratic parties to establish themselves, the long-standing social tensions and the chronic misery of the peasantry, and the personal influence of King Carol and his entourage. These internal forces continued to exert an important influence but the uneasy equilibrium of 1934 and 1935 was broken by the ascendancy of the European fascist states and the mounting international crisis leading to the Second World War.

Titulescu, the strong advocate of the League and of the Versailles system, and at that time advocate of Little Entente-Soviet collaboration, was removed from the Foreign Office in August, 1936. His fall

6. In 1937, in an interview with the journalist Wickham Steed, Carol said that in his own country political parties were sterile and their leaders fit only to criticize. It would be his business as king to discipline them and harness them to constructive work. Notes on the interview are quoted in Pavel Pavel, *Why Rumania Failed* (London, n.d.), p. 142.